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Picture of the Yandugua or Parasol

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*136 *825 [162] [234] [293] [357]

Its meat is excellent, and I have eaten it on numerous occasions. The Indians go to hunt the ostrich to prepare for their bacchanalias; they trade their feathers or keep them, and with five of them make the "Yandugua," a kind of parasol of which I shall speak in its place. The fat is a most efficaceous remedy for the side, rheumatism, and ailments of the hips in men and animals, for coldness of the members, and for removing thorns by anointing with it the part opposite the place where the thorn has penetrated.

BANDURRIA. -- This is a bird which the Indians call "Toté" because this is the sound of its song. It has a long beak, long red legs, red and ash-colored feathers, /52/ and a long neck. It feeds on little worms and insects and is generally found in open fields and banks of rivers and lakes. The meat is like that of guinea fowl, but very tough, although if the outer skin is taken off before boiling or roasting it, it can be cooked easily.

The bandurria resembles the crane somewhat, but it is stationary, abounds everywhere, and is not solitary, but neither do they gather together much. A flock is composed at the most of some 12 or 15, and frequently one finds a single pair. If one of these is caught, its companion will fly away immediately, but will come back two or three times to find out what has happened. In this way it is easy for the hunter to kill both. The bandurria has a highly developed instinct, and when the hunter approaches, it quickly flies. When there are many, they fly like cranes, with one out in front to break the air. They do not fly very high and generally sleep in a hole in the rocks, where it is easy to hunt them after sunset.

BUHO /owl/. -- This is a large nocturnal bird like a condor and whitish in color; there are two kinds, the second is smaller and black, ash-gray with a white collar; the Chiriguano call the first one "Yancuruntu," because when it sings it seems to articulate this word. The female of the Yancuruntu answers "Yaparapiti," which in Spanish means "matemos" /let us kill/, from which the whites are inclined to jump to conclusions and start rumors that the Chiriguano are thinking about an

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The Music for the Ayarise

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The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host, who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

[293]
[126]

1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

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After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

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The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

[539]

Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragüe -- Yuma chúrere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu hetesimi pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

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539 to know the approximate meaning of the Ayarise, and so I put it in this note: "Let us sing, companions -- let us keep on singing -- with our women -- and orphans -- we are all here -- singing and dancing -- I know and I like this song -- The toad and the green frog stop -- and the rabbit makes an effort -- I am tired -- I stop and go off. Eh! Eh!

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533 The Chiriguano can sing all day with these few verses, as in fact they do, but with rests. In order to finish the song all together and rest and drink for a long while, the men make a great stamp on the ground with one foot in time /262/ and a shout out of time, and everything stops with a special resounding and prolonged laughter of the women dancers.

Without leaving the circle of the singing and dancing, the lord of the fiesta has the dancers served abundant drink, which they partake of to their satisfaction in order to begin the Ayarise again as they were doing before, always at the command of the Purumuncau vaé and under the direction of the maestro, who does not put down his Yandugua (1).

● [293]

1. There is one maestro of the ayarise, and he always has his yandugua, but this does not prohibit others from having one; there may be as many as ten in one dance, and they serve as parasols when the heat is very oppressive. The Indian Guarerai of Ivu had six and he lent them out during the solemn fiestas of the town.

527 The dancing and singing of the ayarise continues in this fashion until nine or ten in the morning; then the banquet is prepared in the public plaza, where they choose the cleanest place. There men and women sit down in separate places, and at once they bring from the houses the food, which has been prepared upon plates, where there is broth mixed with meat well seasoned with salt and chili peppers. Meanwhile two enthusiasts of the town

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chané SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "*é, é*" instead of the childish "*á, á.*"

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Padre Chané (1809 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock over the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to enact a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

Schmidt-Bibl 8-8,3 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XXVI

Symbols of authority and dignity.

C
C22 3o1 ●173 According to Combadori[1]) the Chiriguano chief was distinguished by a tuft of hair on his head the »yattira« and earrings of green stones. At feasts the chief carried a pole with a bunch of ostrich feathers at the end of it, the »yandiguas«, and a carved stick the »iguirape«. I have
C2 only seen the »yandiguas«. Among the Chané I have seen
622 plain sticks that formed some kind of symbol of authority for the chiefs.

C I have neither seen nor heard of any symbols of author-
C4 ity among any other Indians than the Chané, Chiriguano,
554 Quichua and Aymara, and also, at the missions, among the
●171 Guarayos, Mosetene and Cavina. Among the Aymara and Quichua the staff, usually silver mounted, is a symbol of authority carried by Indian officials in the villages. It is the same at the missions among the tribes mentioned and also among the Chiriguano. Lozano[2]) states that the Spaniards at the end of the seventeenth century solemnly presented a staff to a Chiriguano chief, Cambichuri, as a symbol of authority. Carvajal[3]) relates from his visit to the Oyampi that the chief carried a staff in his hand, for all
C over Guiana the staff is »le signe de commandement«.
[641] Koch-Grünberg[4]) speaks of the staff as a symbol of authority for chiefs in northwest Brazil. Gilij[5]) says that the

[1]) P. 45.
[2]) P. 208.
[3]) P. 184.
[4]) (a) I P. 260, Fig. 190; P. 292, Fig. 175.
[5]) T. 2 P. 295.

6: Nordenskiöld--80 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

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Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuñyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yantira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

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Ce 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 230.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Parava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

Ce Ce 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattira," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguiripe," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 756 643 622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepáchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer is separate

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.